E. A. BERGMAN



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Britain's march ends at Trafalgar Square; Germany's near Belsen.

# ob laging lines. A to will the series of the

#### march to base near Easter Belsen

FOLLOWING the British example of the Aldermaston Marches, opponents of nuclear weapons from Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover and some other places in the north of Germany intend to go on a four-day protest march at Easter writes Helga Stolle.

Their destination is Bergen-Hohne, an area about 70 miles south from Hamburg where, on December 5, Honest John rockets were first tested by the German army in the presence of the press and NATO officials.

As in England, the marchers will start early on Good Friday and conclude their protest by a public gathering with wellknown speakers near the military area on Easter Monday.

The place of the final meeting at Bergen-Hohne is very near the former

ON MARCH 7 the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) approved a £27,000,000 defence budget and asked its government to consider whether its defence programme could be fulfilled "without adopting the use of nuclear weapons."

In the Indian Parliament Dr. Raghuvira, MP, claims knowledge of an imminent Chinese A-bomb test. But from many quarters comes news of greater efforts against these weapons and the outlook they represent.

where thousands of men and women, found guilty of having been silent when The leaflet calling the people to the march concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen, says: "Once before we Germans were

among them Anne Frank, were murdered. courageous words and deeds were necessary." In Hamburg a special "Easter March Committee" has been founded to organise and lead the protest and co-operate with the local groups who are arranging the different columns the address is Repsold-

man anti-nuclear-war movement is still alive for, as they say in their leaflet:

"When words are no longer heard and when the admonitions of the most significant men of many nations are put aside. we have to give an impressive and not to be misunderstood sign to the world that we are able to see through official propaganda. For this is the truth, which is hidden in all camps of the cold war: that the manufacturing, testing and storing of nuclear weapons-wherever they are made and whoever possesses them-is the greatest danger to mankind." Sived nomolilana na religion of

# Yorks plans for civil disobedience

From a Correspondent.

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French Direct Action Committee

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found guilty of having been silent when courageous words and deeds were necessary." In Hamburg a special "Easter March Committee" has been founded to organise and lead the protest and co-operate with the local groups who are arranging the different columns, the address is Repsold-strasse 49, Hamburg 1.

Initiator of the march and member of the Committee is Hans-Konrad Tempel, German war resister, who came to England to join in the Aldermaston March last year.

There will be at least five marching columns and, as this sort of protest is quite new in Germany, the Committee hopes to show the world that the Ger-

able to see through official propaganda. For this is the truth, which is hidden in all camps of the cold war: that the manufacturing, testing and storing of nuclear weapons—wherever they are made and whoever possesses them—is the greatest danger to mankind."

# Yorks plans for civil disobedience

re source from nuclean

From a Correspondent.

HNAL plans for a direct action demonstration at Catfoss Rocket Base in Yorkshire on July 30 were made on Saturday, March 5, at a conference in Hull organised by the Preparatory Committee for a Northern Radical Demonstration, Flat 2, 15 Burton Crescent, Leeds 6, Yorks.

The Committee will be organising a field work campaign in the area before the project takes place. The Committee now consists of Eric Green, Mary Ringsleben and Carol Taylor.

For further details see PN next week.

# French Direct Action Committee at military atomic centre

A DEMONSTRATION sponsored by the newly-formed French Direct Action Committee Against Atomic Armament took place on Sunday, February 28, at the military atomic centre of against Atomic Armament, science professor Bruyères-le-Chatel, near Arpajon.

Alfred Kastler and Lanza del Vasto, the

About 150 people, members of non-political civic and pacifist groups, gathered at Bruyères station on Sunday morning. Carrying banners calling for an end to Abomb testing, they marched silently to the atomic centre two miles away.

The procession was led by Pastor André Trocmé, President of the French Federation

# Rally! Rally!! Rally!!!

From Ian Dixon.

SUPPORT is gathering for the meeting for total unilateral disarmament organised by the Peace Pledge Union on Thursday, March 31, at the Central Hall, Westminster, at 8.0 p.m.

The Co-operative Womens' Guild have circularised all their 600 branches in London and the Home Counties.

A coach will bring local supporters down the MI motorway to the meeting, Secretary of Rugby PPU is Mary Wilkins, 57 Clifton Road, Rugby.

The idea of the meeting is to take the opportunity of current talks on total disarmament as a rallying point for a spring and summer campaign for unilateral disarmament.

Speakers will include Dr. Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Victor Gollancz, Sybil Thorndike and Stuart Morris. Sybil Morrison will be in the chair.

Alfred Kastler and Lanza del Vasto, the great French pacifist and founder of the Arche, a Gandhian community.

After observing a 15-minutes silence the meeting was addressed by the leaders, who deplored the recent French bomb test and the government's announced decision to continue testing.

One of the speakers quoted General de Gaulle's own words referring to "these deplorable instruments of destruction that for the first time give mankind the power to exterminate itself."

In the name of fifty well-known French scientists, Professor Kastler called for the development of atomic power for peaceful use.

Beyond the high walls of the atomic plant police were in readiness, while the intermittent yapping of watch dogs inside the compound gave notice that trespassers upon government property would not receive velvet-glove treatment. However, the demonstration passed off peacefully and successfully, reinforcing the committee's determination to carry out a series of similar demonstrations in the months ahead.

#### 17 ARRESTED IN STOCKHOLM

SEVENTEEN youths were taken into custory in Stockholm recently, Freedom reports, for demonstrating against the atomic bomb outside the French Embassy.

Various groups were represented including the World's Citizens. The police confiscated their banners and released the demonstrators the following day.

# **OPERATION FOULNESS**

FIVE THOUSAND leaflets have been distributed in Shoebury and Wakering near Foulness (Essex) where a British Atomic Weapons Research Establishment is situated.

Sponsors include a Labour County Countillor E. C. Belton, and the Liberal candidate for S.E. Essex (which includes Foulness), Keith Dixon, who is actively supporting Operation Foulness. He is the brother of Ian Dixon, temporary secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, while April Carter was in Holloway Prison.

#### Union support

Fifty-five trade union branches in the area have been circularised. The National Union of Agricultural Workers (Rochford Branch) gave a sympathetic reception to a speaker on Operation Foulness and all present signed a petition against nuclear weapons. The branch has promised to discuss ways in which it could help the Operation and is to endeavour to get a resolution on unilateral action against nuclear weapons passed at the National Executive of the Union.

With the support of Southend Youth CND, door-to-door canvassing has been undertaken in Great Wakering and Shoebury. Over 60 per cent of people approached signed the petition. Signatories included the Vicar of Wakering, a Roman Catholic priest and several councillors.

### Vigil

Future activities include a protest march on Saturday, March 26, which will assemble at Royal Terrace (near Southend Pier) at 3.0 p.m.

On Saturday, April 23, an open-air meeting will be held at Speakers Corner (Southend Sea Front near the Kursaal) at 2.0 p.m. till 3.0 p.m. when marchers will form up and leave for the Road Block near Foulness (about five miles) arriving at approximately 5.0 p.m. A continuous vigil will be maintained there until 7.30 a.m. on Monday, April 25, when the AWRE workers arrive at Foulness. At this stage there will be a radical non-violent direct action demonstration.

Ruth Townsend, of 22 Inverness Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, is co-ordinating offers of assistance.

# HANDLING NUCLEAR WEAPONS: AIRMAN CHANGED HIS MIND

SITTING in an advisory capacity the London Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on February 29 heard the case of a 21 year-old airman claiming that his absence without leave from the RAF was due to a conscientious objection arising from nuclear weapons.

He had been charged before a courtmartial on January 29 and sentenced to 92 days' detention, a sentence that allowed him to apply to the Tribunal under an administrative rule.\*

When asked if he thought the armed forces should have something less than the most effective weapon, Royston Carss said that they should have nothing at all; they

\*The administrative procedure whereby Royston Carss was before the Tribunal sitting in an advisory capacity has no statutory backing but is a well established practice under which a member of the Forces who commits an offence in Great Britain which he claims was on conscientious grounds and is serving a court-martial sentence of three months or more may apply to have his case heard by an Advisory Tribunal, in practice the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors set up under the National Service Act, 1948, sitting in an advisory capacity. In this case the Tribunal will advise the Air Ministry whether in its opinion Royston Carss acted on grounds of conscience; if so it will be in accordance with previous practice for the authorities to arrange for his discharge and, as a concession, to remit the balance of his sentence.

This is the first case known to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors where the Advisory Tribunal as such has had to consider an application based on a conscientious objection arising solely from nuclear

MAGISTRATE FREES COS Prosecution can take what steps it likes

should be in the nature of a police force. "I believe," he stated, "that the holding of nuclear weapons constitutes a great danger to the civilisation of the whole world."

The chairman of the Tribunal thought everyone would agree, but wondered if this was a conscientious objection. The appellant replied that it most certainly was for him as he had been working on those very weapons. He could not describe his work in detail, but it was in the nature of loading nuclear weapons into aircraft.

When he had been working in units concerned with training in conventional weapons he had seen no objection, but after four or five months' work on nuclear weapons he started thinking about the whole question and came to the view that it was wholly wrong

In the end he felt so strongly on the matter he had just downed tools and left.

That was in October, 1959.

Brady, confirmed that during his absence Royston Carss had spent Christmastime taking part in the Youth Section of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's coastto-coast march, after which he had given himself up. He had had no intention of staying absent.

Flight Lieutenant Wort who had defended appellant at his court martial said he believed him to be sincere and that he had read a lot on the subject. In his opinion appellant had not premeditated becoming a conscientious objector, and indeed senior officers on the station had considered that he had not sufficient grounds.

#### Then into the tunnel. And the 1st passenger said A witness before the Tribunal, Mr. At the camp on that hill They held my son For eight days Under the arclight

city

And he screamed for an ambulance But it never came.

With the weight of evidence

And cracked his ribs

**JOURNEY** 

Through the suburbs of a mamoth

Travelling by train at night

The carriage lights dimmed The more easily to see The smouldering vastness.

And the 2nd passenger said Like in a boxing arena I heard them hissing Tier upon tier In the outer darkness I had told myself What I would say But my throat dried And no words came.

#### And the 3rd passenger said They wrote in our parish magazine Let his endurance be an example to But as I said at the time

What option had he but to endure it?

And the 4th passenger said I am a humanist And I suggest we remember That they are all men Like ourselves I don't suppose for a moment those Liked what they had to do Though I dare say It had its conpensations.

And the 5th passenger said I was the symbol of justice Poised cruciform With sword and scales But my hands were severed

# The question now for African nationalism

#### OLIVER CALDECOTT reviews

African Nationalism, by Ndabaningi Sithole (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.),

I'm afraid, look a pretty shabby. African nationalism than under white. out-of-date and inadequate doctrine.

As events in Africa—"the winds of change," as Macmillan put it-move towards the inevitable end (the paramountcy of African interests, if not the total defeat of the European ruling minority), it becomes less and less necessary for Africans to prove themselves "equal."

Indeed, I doubt if many responsible politicians, even among the South African nationalists, seriously adhere to the doctrine of inherent black inferiority; rather, the root fear among the whites is that, since the Africans are capable of running a modern state machine, the Europeans may not only loose their position of dominance, but in the end even the influence which has hitherto derived from their greater skill and

A FRICAN Nationalism will soon, if Africa will be much the better off under

Good as this book is, it proves a point that needs no proving. We do not need to know that Africa has been exploited, that Africans are capable of the same things as Europeans. What we do need to know, whatever our colour or race, is what chance there is of African supremacy outgrowing its nationalistic (and ipso facto aggressive, domineering and ever imperialistic) phase before it becomes as bad or worse than the evil which it has succeeded.

African nationalism has set its eyes upon the conquest of power. Will the African " masses" be freer under black politicians? Will African nationalism cease being nationalism and become a socialist inter-nationalism, or will it descend into racialism and with previous practice for the authorities to arrange for his discharge and, as a concession, to remit the balance of his sentence.

This is the first case known to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors where the Advisory Tribunal as such has had to consider an application based on a conscientious objection arising solely from nuclear weapons.

# Prosecution can take what steps it likes

UNCONDITIONAL discharges to two conscientious objectors who pleaded guilty to having failed to attend for medical examination were given by the Birmingham Stipendiary Magistrate, Mr. J. F. Milward, on February 23.

Bernard Vyse, of Tamworth, Staffs., had previously been sentenced for a similar offence to one month's imprisonment, and Richard Lee, of Shrewsbury, Shropshire, had served a two months sentence for refusing to submit to medical examination.

In Mr. Milward's view it was not consistent with the spirit of the law or of justice to continue these proceedings over and over again. He is reported in the Birmingham Post to have said that the presecution could take what steps it liked, and refused to make out any further order requiring them to submit to medical examination.

# TOTAL DISARMAMENT LET IT BEGIN WITH US

Public Meeting
CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER
Thursday March 31, 8 p.m.

VICTOR GOLLANCZ STUART MORRIS DONALD SOPER MICHAEL TIPPETT SYBIL THORNDIKE

Chairman:

SYBIL MORRISON

Admission Free. Some reserved at 2s. 6d.
PEACE PLEDGE UNION
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. EUS 5501

Bookstall and Buffet from 6.30 p.m.

As events in Africa—"the winds of change," as Macmillan put it—move towards the inevitable end (the paramountcy of African interests, if not the total defeat of the European ruling minority), it becomes less and less necessary for Africans to prove themselves "equal."

Indeed, I doubt if many responsible politicians, even among the South African nationalists, seriously adhere to the doctrine of inherent black inferiority; rather, the root fear among the whites is that, since the Africans are capable of running a modern state machine, the Europeans may not only loose their position of dominance, but in the end even the influence which has hitherto derived from their greater skill and "know-how"!

This being so, one is entitled to wonder

# 'Creative Education

JEFFREY BOND reviews

Creative Education, by Dr. Muriel A. Payne. William Maclellan. Glasgow, 1959.

DR. MURIEL A. PAYNE, who draws attention to the significance of J. Krishnamurti, produced "Creative Education" at the request of the Indian Government.

It is a valuable exposition of the methods which enable children to grow in awareness—of which many teachers have been found to show such a low degree that they are unfit to teach. To these and parents the book gives good advice

The workings of "the reactive mind" are described and Dr. Ron Hubbard's system of freeing trapped energy is recommended. There are stories of the child's natural "ahimsa" and the tragedy that perverts his natural compassion.

One tells of the distress of a boy at the shooting down, in the war, of a German pilot. An adult justified it to the boy. Later the boy was questioned about a strangled chicken for which he was held responsible. His compassion had gone: he justified his action with the same logic of the adult who had supported the war action.

Children with a good degree of awareness can partake in self-government and come to practise rule by unanimous agreement, but, alas, many educational systems still impose moulds in which the child cannot develop freely and maintain an integral awareness and co-operative harmony with universal life.

There is a Creative Education Centre at 16 Edge St., London, W.8.

that needs no proving. We do not need to know that Africa has been exploited, that Africans are capable of the same things as Europeans. What we do need to know, whatever our colour or race, is what chance there is of African supremacy outgrowing its nationalistic (and *ipso facto* aggressive, domineering and ever imperialistic) phase before it becomes as bad or worse than the evil which it has succeeded.

African nationalism has set its eyes upon the conquest of power. Will the African "masses" be freer under black politicians? Will African nationalism cease being nationalism and become a socialist inter-nationalism, or will it descend into racialism and African chauvinism?

Government, unfortunately, remains government whatever the colour of its officials and manipulators; capital and profit are entirely without colour consciousness; the emerging African middle class (which Macmillan desires to strengthen) will inherit the vices no less than the virtues of the white bourgeoisie.

Experience of Asian nationalism is not encouraging in this regard: with India and Burma the only possible exceptions, the new states of Asia have sacrificed liberty to nationalism, democracy to power politics. Isn't it naïve to hope that Africa will do better?

And I suggest we remember
That they are all men
Like ourselves
I don't suppose for a moment those
boys
Liked what they had to do
Though I dare say
It had its conpensations.

And the 5th passenger said
I was the symbol of justice
Poised cruciform
With sword and scales
But my hands were severed
At the wrists.

And the 6th passenger said
I was a stillborn child—
One of the lucky ones.

Out of the tunnel
Dawn
And into the sun
Daybreak towers
With streaming pennants
Unknown and unknowable
Familiarity would destroy
For ever.

Dai Vaughan



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# -By Sybil Morrison-

# PIVOT OF FEAR

Fear has become the pivot on which our future is balanced.—Bertrand Russell.

THE above remark of Bertrand Russell's was selected by The Sunday Times last week as one of the "Sayings of The Week"; it is to be assumed that it is the human race to whose future it refers, and as a pivot is a pin on which something turns or oscillates, this rather portentous remark would seem to mean that an unknown future depends upon the oscillation of fear.

Now fear is an emotion that has many strange effects; some of the bravest deeds, both in war and in peace, have been done under the compulsion of sheer terror, and not, as might have appeared, in fearless disregard of the consequences. On the other hand they are just as likely to be the result of a complete lack of imagination.

In the First World War the young men who faced the daily carnage of mud and blood in the trenches or the raids across No-man's Land, were, many of them, much too afraid to think for themselves and felt a warm degree of comfort in simply obeying orders. Very few of those who obeyed the suicidal orders remembered that the officer who gave them was probably a mere boy of nineteen years. Had they used their imagination to even that extent they might not have faced the horror of shells screaming overhead and bullets whipping past their vulnerable bodies, bringing mutilation and death in matters of seconds.

In the Second World War, when the heavy droning noise of the bombers heralded the sinister whining of the released bombs as they came hurtling down to their high explosive slaughter, the majority of people crouching in their Philadelphia, Washington, Boston, Chicago shelters or cowering under tables scarcely believed the hideous thing would happen to them; and to-day that same inability to believe in the worst still prevails.

# U.S. poison gas protest action in April

A N appeal for non-violent action in protest against research on poison gas warfare is shortly to be launched by the US Committee For Nonviolent Action at the Edgewood Army Chemical Centre in Maryland.

The Chief Officer of the Army Chemical Corps stated in 1958:

"In addition to our work in the nerve gases we are seeking new toxic substances which will attack other vulnerable systems of the body such as the eyes and the mind."

In 1959 the Chemical Corps conducted an intensive propaganda campaign to make the use of such weapons acceptable to the American public, and to get more public funds for further research.

#### ALL GOVERNMENTS

In its monthly Bulletin on March 1 the CNVA stated : - ar Property - and Property

"We stand opposed to what the Chemical Corps is doing, as we have opposed the testing and use of nuclear bombs and missiles .... (and) the activities of any Government whose weapons imperil the people of this world.

"Members and supporters of this Committee have taken part in actions against the military preparations of four major Powers: the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the United States."

A daily vigil will begin on Friday, April 8, at the entrance to the Army Chemical Centre, Edgewood. On the following day there will be public tallies in New York. and other cities, calling for an end to preparations for chemical and biological warfare.

As the vigil continues, a march will leave Edgewood for the White House, arriving in Washington on April 14.

Signatures against chemical and biological eapons collected en route will be deliv-



From the film "March to Aldermaston." Cheerful faces en route to Aldermaston

# Play performances for Aldermaston March

A LDERMASTON Marchers this Easter will have a chance to see a series of nuclear morality plays.

The four-day trek during April 15-18 is the third in succession and, as last year, will head from the Berkshire village-site of the Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment—to London.

The plays are the work of David Campton, a professional playwright attached to PEACE NEWS, March 11, 1960-3

#### PROTEST PAR **EXCELLENCE**

THERE are many ways of protesting against things you don't like. They vary from the mildest tut-tut" to the most violent revolution.

I suppose the commonest way is to swear. This has considerable value as a safety-valve for over-charged emotions and a safeguard against internal combustion.

commend it.



But apart from its therapeutic value, its influence is strictly limited, as it has no effect on distant objects.

The most effective form of protest I've met for some time comes in a letter from two readers at Swindon. They write:

"The enclosed cheque for Peace News is our protest against the Sahara tests."

Now this is the PROTEST PAR EXCEL-

Not a day passes but some government will do something, or some politician will say something, that arouses the indignation of all just men. But generally our protests against them are made in silence or seclu-

I therefore suggest that whenever such emotions stir the bosom or leap to the lips, you follow the excellent example of our correspondents, and instead of venting your outraged feelings upon the empty air, the family circle or the unresponsive cat, you drop a coin into a receptacle retained for the purpose and send us the proceeds at regular intervals.

Or, if no such receptacle is handy, enter the transaction in your notebook under the heading IOPN.

Thus, by the simple process of expressing your indignation in terms of cash, you can contribute to the maintenance of this paper and so divert your individual protests into practical and co-operative channels.

There are a dozen prominent figures in world affairs whose daily actions or utterances, at a penny a time, would alone pay our printers' bills, and it would be a gracious gesture on our part, I think, to send them a message of thanks every Xmas for their generous support of our cause.

In a nuclear war it seems unlikely that

Coincians the works of C.

their vulnerable bodies, bringing mutilation and death in matters of seconds.

In the Second World War, when the heavy droning noise of the bombers heralded the sinister whining of the released bombs as they came hurtling down to their high explosive slaughter, the majority of people crouching in their shelters or cowering under tables scarcely believed the hideous thing would happen to them; and to-day that same inability to believe in the worst still prevails.

I to whow out ont

In a nuclear war it seems unlikely that even the deepest shelter would be proof against radio-active contamination and so, for perhaps the first time in history, no one can consider themselves safe. The Royal Family and the common family, the Prime Minister and the citizens, the Field Marshals and the soldiers, the Admirals and the sailors, will all be in it together.

The tragedy of Agadir will be repeated a hundred-thousand-million-fold; instead of one town with its inhabitants, the whole world could be laid waste with no one to succour the dving and the wounded. Fear of this disaster has had two quite distinct consequences; one is the demand that nuclear weapons be abandoned; the other is the decision that at all costs they should be retained. Both conceptions of the right thing to do in the present situation arise from fear.

To frighten people is not the best way to induce them to face facts; indeed, it is much more likely to make them behave as ostriches and pretend they do not perceive the oncoming enemy. The conception of nuclear weapons being so terrifying that they will deter nations from war is an idea which causes the majority, including statesmen and politicians, to clutch and cling to them.

Fear of the Bomb is the sharpest of twoedged swords; cutting both ways without mercy, it inspires the nuclear disarmament crusade at the same time as it is the crusade's most formidable obstacle. Fear, in fact, has produced two slogans: "Cling to the Bomb; it will deter," and "Discard the Bomb; it will destroy." While these two slogans vie with each other for the support of the populace, the only valid appeal is being lost in the uproar.

Nuclear weapons are the inevitable consequence of war; moral repugnance for, and condemnation of, their manufacture should be part of a demand for the total abolition of all war. Moral courage, not fear, should be the basis for the rallying call: TOTAL DISARMAMENT. LET IT BEGIN WITH against the military preparations of four major Powers: the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the United States."

A daily vigil will begin on Friday, April 8, at the entrance to the Army Chemical Centre, Edgewood. On the following day there will be public tallies in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston, Chicago and other cities, calling for an end to pre- a series of nuclear morality plays. parations for chemical and biological war-

As the vigil continues, a march will leave Edgewood for the White House, arriving in Washington on April 14.

Signatures against chemical and biological weapons collected en route will be delivered to the White House where an attempt will be made to see President Eisenhower on April 15. The following week-end the CNVA is arranging a training programme in non-violence with films, reports and analytical surveys of previous non-violent projects in different countries, and a discussion of future plans.

#### ALL POSTERS

Among the slogans to be used on the Edgewood-Washington march are: "Brotherhood or the Black Plague!" and "America-Russia-Stop Chemical Warfare Preparation!"

All posters will carry the slogan : "Adopt Non-violent Resistance!"

Some people may be prepared to attempt an open non-violent entry into the base after April 18.

The new address of the Committee for Nonviolent Action is 158 Grand Street, Room 10, New York 13, NY, USA.

## AID FOR QUAKE VICTIMS

THE Oxford Committee for Famine Relief has sent £2,000 to the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva for relief work in Agadir. Provision has been made to send a further £3,000 as soon as it is known where best it can be used.

The Committee awaits instructions from Leslie Kirkley, its General Secretary, who was in Tunisia at the time of the disaster. He flew into Morocco on Friday, March 4. for discussions concerning Algerian refugees. Whilst there he is expected to discuss with the authorities how the Committee can be of assistance in the relief work at Agadir.

# Play performances for Aldermaston March

TRIUDINING TURE

A LDERMASTON Marchers this Easter will have a chance to see

The four-day trek during April 15-18 is the third in succession and, as last year, will head from the Berkshire village-site of the Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment-to London.

The plays are the work of David Campton, a professional playwright attached to Stephen Joseph's theatre at Newcastle under Lyme. They will be performed by a group of Oxford undergraduate actors, members of the Oxford CND.

The first of the series is a double-talk parody of a Summit Conference, the second a horror story about a soldier, and the third a romance called "After the Fall-Out's Over." which is a love scene between the two remaining human beings, a university professor and a beauty queen. Performances are already planned for Reading and

The March organiser, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1), says that groups throughout the country are well ahead with plans.

#### London Region

London Region CND has asked its groups to contact many other organisations that might be interested. Next week the Region will launch factory gate and dock head meetings, and give a preview of some of its plans at a press conference.

The Region has divided itself into seven units which will campaign under the slogan "500 All The Way." Committee rooms have been set up for each unit, and information about them can be obtained from London Region CND headquarters at 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

From March 16 the Region's slogan will become "Double Our Numbers for Aldermaston," and with this in view nine marches and two motorcades will be held in London from March 26 onwards.

So that Quakers can have their own banners for Aldermaston, a call has gone out from the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee to Quaker Meetings, to come to an all-day poster-making session on Saturday, April 2.

It already seems likely that this year's Aldermaston March will be bigger than

Or, if no such receptacle is handy, enter the transaction in your notebook under the heading IOPN.

Thus, by the simple process of expressing your indignation in terms of cash, you can contribute to the maintenance of this paper and so divert your individual protests into practical and co-operative channels.

There are a dozen prominent figures in world affairs whose daily actions or utterances, at a penny a time, would alone pay our printers' bills, and it would be a gracious gesture on our part, I think, to send them a message of thanks every Xmas for their generous support of our cause.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Total since Feb. 26, 1960: £28 6s. 10d. Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £186 6s. 3d. Still needed: £2,314.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1

# Youth direct action at rocket base

A DIRECT action demonstration for youth is to take place at North Pickenham Rocket Base on Saturday, March 26. It will start at 3.30 p.m. on Saturday and end a week later.

The organiser is 16-year-old Douglas Brewood, of 30 St. Lukes Road, London, W.11, who demonstrated outside the rocket base at Harrington on January 2 after 82 members of the Direct Action Committee's demonstration had been arrested.

This demonstration for British unilateral nuclear disarmament will be undertaken without any form of violence. Its main purpose is to obstruct vehicles going in or out of the base. If there is no traffic an attempt will be made to enter the site and to reclaim the land for peaceful uses.

In a statement to the press Douglas Brewood said: "I must point out that I am not attempting to entice young people with unsympathetic parents to break the law. I am merely inviting other young people willing and able to make a radical protest to ioin me."

# 'People and Places'

PN Contributor "Phyz" is on holiday. Next week he will start a fortnightly 'People and Places" feature.

### Suez: Looking back

THE Eden memoirs are terribly revealing in the slanted account of the development of events, in the carefully calculated omissions, and not least, of course, in the disclosure, while refusing to avow it, that the British Government was at least a tacit partner in the encouragement given by France to Israel to make the surprise attack on Egypt in 1956.

The two main lessons of Anthony Eden's book become even more important when we view them in the light of last week's "defence" debate and contemplate the character of war in 1960.

Sir Anthony Eden was very largely motivated during the whole of the Suez crisis by a condition that can only be described as psychopathic; and this is the first important factor we should never lose sight of in relation to the immensities of power that are entrusted today to men in leading positions.

The second relates to the significance of that much-favoured word "deterrent." Here Sir Anthony's outlook is no different from the rest of his Party, and-differences in the attitude to the Suez affair apart—no different from the assumptions made by the majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Sir Anthony hoped for US moral support in his Egyptian undertaking. He did not expect US military assistance in the Suez zone. All he wanted was that the US should "take care" of Russia. That's all!

### **Deterrent theory**

JUST let us look at what "taking care of Russia" our H-bomb is that it is a "deterrent." It is not only to deter a hostile power from using an Hbomb against us. It is to deter that power in given circumstances from entering upon " conventional" military action against our interests.

Similarly Russia has the "deterrent," with the difference that it has it in greater quantities

Russia was proposing, or threatening, to use the bomb as a deterrent to prevent the Franco-British aggression in Egypt. What Sir Anthony expected was that the US should use its H-bomb stock as the deterrent that would neutralise the deterrent effect of the Russian H-bomb. That Sir Anthony should regard this as a minor demand to make upon an ally doubtless derived from his psychopathic condition.

People still discuss the H-bomb threat, however, on the statesmen on one side or the other decide that an Hbomb war shall be undertaken; and they take comfort



war this will develop out of an attempt to pursue national interests by "limited" war, an attempt that will break down because two contending sides cannot each pursue their interests within the limits assumed.

The renunciation of war and the voluntary abandonment of armaments as the means to that end is not an easy policy for mankind to accept. It is, however, much less dangerous than the attempt to maintain peace by the deterrent power of the H-bomb. The atomic age is anyhow a dangerous age for mankind, and the voluntary abandonment of war preparation represents the fundamental change in outlook that is dictated by the new epoch.

### Algeria crucified

T would be wrong, I suppose, to accuse General de Gaulle of "double-talk." His sibylline utterances have more of the character of "half-talk." They do not disclose more than half of his mind, although sometimes there may not be more to disclose.

The events following his famous pronouncement in which the Algerian people were offered genuine self-determination after a cease-fire, including the choice of independence if they desire it, have nevertheless done a good deal to warrant the use of the harsher term.

means. It is claimed that the great advantage of His speech to the French officers at Zariflete last Saturday seems to have put things back much where they were before the three-fold choice in self-determination was offered; and the cruel Algerian war is to be pursued to the bitter end.

> What we want to know now-and it may be hoped that those in France who desire an end to the Algerian fighting will insist on getting this information—is what has gone on between General de Gaulle and the representatives of the Algerian nationalists. The speech made by M. Ferhat Abbas on February 29 was a moderate and promising one, asking for the opening of talks on the conditions to obtain after the cease fire, and the apportionment of responsibility for their application. Naturally, General de Gaulle does not want a future Algerian decision to be dominated by the FLN, but the Algerian nationalists have equal reason to fear that it may be dominated by the French Army officers.

assumption that a nuclear war can only start when the While General de Gaulle has committed himself to the possibility of independence, when he is talking to the "colons" or to his fascist-minded army officers he uses

### Lovely lolly

IN the development of the "new weapons" there is a lavish field for practically unchecked expenditure, while the standards that operate in the management of military supplies and equipment would rapidly reduce any ordinary business concern to bankruptcy.

Something of what can be happening in Britain on this Tom Tiddler's Ground is shown in the following facts brought out in the Comptroller and Accountant General's Report on the Civil Appropriation Accounts:

The total cost up to March of last year of the development of a navigational aid put in hand by the Aeroplane and Armament Experimental Establishment was £300,000. A Treasury limit of £40,000 had been fixed for this, but through a small oversight the Establishment was not told

The design and development of a guided weapon was contracted for at a sum put at about £4,000,000 spread over five years. A subsequent revised estimate put the cost at £23,000,000. Following further changes an additional cost of £20,000,000 was endorsed.

The first guided weapon to be developed was contracted for in February, 1949. It was to cost £1,500,000. The latest estimate has now arrived at £40,000,000.

### Sick society

AT a meeting of Peace News Board last week for the discussion of policy the members heard the veteran Wilfred Wellock speak once more with great cogency on his theme "the condition of man" with particular reference to the destruction of traditional values through social and industrial tendencies in which the US is today taking the lead, but in which Britain is following close

Wellock has been propounding his views on these lines for a number of years, and I once referred to him as the seer of the pacifist movement. When a theme has been persistently maintained for a protracted period there is a tendency to set it aside with the impatient comment that "we have heard it all before." When there is a temptation to treat Wilfred Wellock's gospel like this there is, I suggest, a great injustice being done.

The fact that he was saying these things years ago, far from being a reason for discounting what he says today, is a special reason for paying his message very particular attention. For hardly a month now passes without some sociological study coming out of the USA which throws a revealing light on some aspect of the things about which Wilfred has been warning us. That he was so much earlier in the field is very strong evidence of his percipience.

The kind of books I have in mind are the works of C. Wright Mills, David Riesman's "The Lonely Crowd," Vance Packard's "The Status Seekers," Thomas Griffith's circumstances from entering upon " conventional' military action against our interests.

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People still discuss the H-bomb threat, however, on the statesmen on one side or the other decide that an Hbomb war shall be undertaken; and they take comfort from the fact that, in contrast with earlier wars, such statesmen will recognise that they will be signing their own death warrant. But the terrible irresponsibility evidenced by the British Government over Suez indicates the opposite. If we are to go down in an H-bomb world

What we want to know now-and it may be hoped that those in France who desire an end to the Algerian fighting will insist on getting this information—is what has gone on between General de Gaulle and the representatives of the Algerian nationalists. The speech made by M. Ferhat Abbas on February 29 was a moderate and promising one, asking for the opening of talks on the conditions to obtain after the cease fire, and the apportionment of responsibility for their application. Naturally, General de Gaulle does not want a future Algerian decision to be dominated by the FLN, but the Algerian nationalists have equal reason to fear that it may be dominated by the French Army officers.

assumption that a nuclear war can only start when the While General de Gaulle has committed himself to the possibility of independence, when he is talking to the "colons" or to his fascist-minded army officers he uses terms that imply that independence is inconceivable. On the other hand, M. Ferhat Abbas has made it clear that he assumes that the independence for which his provisional government stands does not preclude co-operation between Algeria and France.

tendency to set it aside with the impatient comment that "we have heard it all before." When there is a temptation to treat Wilfred Wellock's gospel like this there is, I suggest, a great injustice being done.

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The kind of books I have in mind are the works of C. Wright Mills, David Riesman's "The Lonely Crowd," Vance Packard's "The Status Seekers," Thomas Griffith's "The Waist-High Culture," and numerous others. All testify to different aspects of a sick society and are providing formidable confirmation of the ugly trends that Wilfred Wellock so early pointed out in our columns and in his other writings. Jimel nomence and box viewed

#### The endless war

THE French war in Algeria will continue for a long time, said President de Gaulle on March 3 in the course of his visit to French army units in Algeria.

He added, according to a report from the French News Agency, that a military victory was the only way of solving the Algerian problem. A representative of this Agency was the only journalist who was allowed to accompany de Gaulle.

The Agency's report only quoted directly one paragraph of the French President's speech. In this he said: "We hold the right end of the stick. I repeat that I do not lay down under what form France will remain in Algeria, but I am sure she will stay there." may resource tours

#### C.D. drought

IN the event of a nuclear attack on London it would be impossible to fight fires with the water supplies so far available for an emergency, says the Fire Brigade Committee of London County Council.

This was in a report on London's Civil Defence by the LCC's General Purposes Committee.

The report also says that Civil Defence would be hampered by lack of radio equipment. The Committee recommends that the

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Government be urged to act on four points. They are:

1. To finance the accumulation in sufficient quantity of the equipment required for water storage and fire fighting, wireless communications, specialised tools for rescue work, and beds and bedding for rest centres.

2. Because of the shortage of trained manpower, to consider offering people training without any obligation to enrol in Civil

3. To clarify its intentions in regard to plans for evacuation, and the protection of food and water.

4. To consider the possibility of giving greater practical encouragement to industrial civil defence.

Dr. Donald Soper has moved an amendment to the report viewing with concern the inadequacy of the present provision to meet the effect of nuclear attack. He also urges the Council to call on the Government "to pursue a persistent policy directed towards securing by international agreement the complete abolition of the use of nuclear weapons in warfare as the only effective safeguard."

#### African Union?

"IN the confident expectation of an early surrender of sovereignty to a Union of African States," Ghana's new constitution proposes giving her Parliament "power to provide for the surrender of the whole or any part of the whole of the sovereignty of Ghana."

The Constitution also provides that Ghana should become a republic.

#### German Armada

THE West German, Dutch, and Belgian Governments have signed an agreement for the joint production under licence of the American Lockheed F104-G Starfighter aircraft.

It will be used by their air forces primarily as a supersonic strike aircraft, the Guardian's correspondent in Bonn reported on March 7.

The collaboration of the three countries is due to the initiative of the West German Defence Minister, Herr Strauss,

Under the agreement West Germany will build 570 Starfighters for herself. Added to the 100 planes that are being bought direct from Lockheed's they will give Germany an air armada of 670 of the swiftest atom bomb carriers in the world.

A huge underground vault, claimed as radiation-proof, atom bomb proof, fire proof and burglar proof is being built 50 miles north of Toronto by a group of business men who read the late Nevil Shute's book "On the Beach." Several foreign governments and big businesses have already booked space in the vault, reported the Evening Standard on March 2.

The 10-nation disarmament committee meets. at Geneva on March 15.

#### PEACE NEWS

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

#### 'Alternative to war'

TN his comments on "Alternative to War," Tom Wardle seems to be condemning pacifists to political irrelevance. The specialisation, the training, and the discipline on which Ralph Bell insists for his Active Non-violent Resistance Force are surely essentials of any large (or not so large) organisation. Without them Peace News itself-to go no farther-could not be produced. Has Tom Wardle any better proposals for showing how pacifists would deal with the three situations which the book picks out: Nazism in Germany, oppression in South Africa, and a Russian invasion? Agreed that love is nothing if not spontaneous and that organisation should subserve it, these sentiments are no justification for condemning all organisation, all forethought, all attempt to work out our faith in real situations before they have overwhelmed us. "Alternative to War" may not be every pacifist's cup of tea, but it surely deserves from you less cavalier treatment than this. The Newcastle group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has thought it important enough to have arranged a residential conference to study it, on April 2-3 at Otterburn Hall, Northumberland. Interested Peace News readers can get details from Pamela Hughes, Treen, Shibdon Bank, Blaydon-on-Tyne. - W. GRIGOR McCLELLAND, 23 Broom Lane, Whickham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

#### Anti-semitism

AS my principal point has apparently escaped Bruce Odspur (PN, Feb. 26), I beg your indulgence for a brief restatement of my views,

If British anti-semitism is due to Jewish influence "out of all proportion to their numbers," I wish to see actual statistics cited, not merely a superficial judgment.

I do not believe "the Jewish Question" can be discussed in the terms used by Sherwood and Odspur in any "temperate" philosophical vacuum. Generalisations have led to pogroms before in various parts of the world and to the massive extermination efforts of World War II. If Odspur means to be complimentary to Jews by repeating these generalisations, all he is handing them is the kiss of death,

As a pacifist, I consider it the unpardonable sin to indict or "to compliment" any sizeable group of people collectively, whether they be Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Quakers, Baptists or what have you. I hold the same opinion of any attempt by Sherwood, Odspur, Koestler, Ben Gurion or Hitler to propound an either or final solution for any large group of people to which they must submit—or else!

Jews, whether considered a religion, a race, a nationality, a culture, an obsession, or just anyone born of a Jewish mother (the latest Israeli definition) are made up of millions of individuals with their private ambitions, aspirations and wishes. Who are we to prescribe that all possible 12 or 15,000,000 of them follow Koestler's advice and take Israeli citizenship or assimilate? Or follow Odspur's advice and become like the Quakers, whatever that's supposed to mean?

I would have thought that pacifists as rugged, non-conformist individuals themselves would be the last ones to prescribe rigid total solutions for other people.—EDITH WYNNER, 54, Riverside Drive, New York 24, NY, USA.

THE recent outbreaks of anti-semitism in Germany and elsewhere are surely a disgusting and distressing phenomenon, and every effort should be made to disclose their prime originator-if any-and to stop them. But when Israeli leaders angrily and very loudly protest on international platforms against anti-semitism and national discrimination they should be reminded by sincere friends of Israel that the Arabs are also Semites, and that the enforcement of exile and decay on a million Arab refugees and the degradation and spoilation of 200,000 Israeli Arabs are acts much more substantial and inhuman than the smearing of swastikas. He that thunders against filth should first clean his own hands.-M. STEIN, Chairman, A. ZICHRONY, Secretary, Central Committee of the Third Force movement in Israel, 5 Yavneh Str, Tel-Aviv.

#### Pacifism in education

THE Committee of the PPU Education Commission is launching a new edition of their travelling file. The subject of the file is the expression of pacifism in education and its purpose is to provide an oppor-

As a pacifist, I consider it the unpardonal all Christian Socialists will join it, those who have them bringing their constructive suggestions, working together to the honour hether they be Jews, Catholics, Negroes, uakers, Baptists or what have you. I hold Valence Wood Road, Dagenham, Essex.

#### A-protest team

I FIND on reading through my article on the Sahara Protest Team (PN, March 4) that I have omitted to mention among the experienced American pacifists, who did so much to make the demonstration a success, the name of Bill Sutherland.

May I therefore say briefly that Bill's knowledge of important people in Ghana where he has worked for several years as private secretary to Mr. Gbedemah, the Finance Minister, his immediate enthusiasm for the project and his tireless work behind the scenes were a vital factor in the project's success. — MICHAEL RANDLE, Sahara Protest Team, Accra, Ghana.

#### For Aldermaston Marchers

I CAN offer free accommodation to Aldermaston marchers on Easter Sunday night and also on the Monday night if necessary. May I make this offer especially to members of PPU, FoR, or Quakers who perhaps will write me to make arrangements.—Mrs. MOLLIE MARIN, 74 Queen's Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

# We apologize to Labour rebels

IN our front-page editorial last week Peace News suggested that Labour MPs should not only put down motions which were critical of the Government and the official Opposition policy on defence, they should also vote on them.

Our editorial, written and sent to the press as the debate closed, assumed that Mr. Shinwell's motion was not pressed to a division. We learnt too late that the motion had not been selected by the Speaker for discussion. It was therefore impossible for anybody to vote on the motion and abstention was the only possible course for the Labour rebels.

We apologise for our suggestion that these rebels could and should have gone further. This was both incorrect and un-

# Murder by neglect

#### By ROBIN DIXON

Secretary of the National Peace Council.

"MURDER by Neglect" shown on Sunday, March 6, on BBC TV is a 30-minute film by Stephen Peet about conditions of life in western Sicily and Danilo Dolci's work of social reform.

Half-an-hour is not a long time in which to describe these conditions and explain what Dolci is doing to change them. Because it tried to do both I don't think that the film was able to do justice to Dolci, his work and his philosophy.

But it did get in plenty of important basic facts about Sicilian life and stressed Dolci's belief that when the facts are known it can only then be seen what action should follow. Dolci's painstaking documentation and enquiries have revealed some of the facts about violence, about the Mafia, about unemployment, illiteracy, poverty and, above all, of waste.

Here are some that the film revealed: 520 people have been murdered by the Mafia since the war; 100,000 are destitute in Palermo; in many villages the average number of days a man works in a year is 110; children of 12 stand a better chance of getting a job than those of 14 because they don't have to be paid as much.



What, in this situation, does the Italian Government do to help? In Dolci's words it was explained that the Government does help, but insufficiently, and without coordination or planning. The magnificent dam is built entirely at Government expense for the benefit of the village of Menfi, but no one explains to the people how to use water for irrigation, and five-sixths of the available supply flows straight into the sea.

"We have to begin," says Dolci, "where the authorities have left off." We saw how an agriculturist, working from one of his centres, is now showing the people of Menfi how they can grow better crops, giving themselves more employment and raising their standard of living.

It is in Palermo that the film shows up

If British anti-semitism is due to Jewish influence "out of all proportion to their numbers," I wish to see actual statistics cited, not merely a superficial judgment,

I do not believe "the Jewish Question" can be discussed in the terms used by Sherwood and Odspur in any "temperate" philosophical vacuum. Generalisations have led to pogroms before in various parts of the world and to the massive extermination efforts of World War II. If Odspur means to be complimentary to Jews by repeating these generalisations, all he is handing them is the kiss of death.



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the degradation and spoilation of 200,000 Israeli Arabs are acts much more substantial and inhuman than the smearing of swastikas. He that thunders against filth should first clean his own hands.—M. STEIN, Chairman, A. ZICHRONY, Secretary, Central Committee of the Third Force movement in Israel, 5 Yavneh Str, Tel-Aviv.

#### Pacifism in education

THE Committee of the PPU Education Commission is launching a new edition of their travelling file. The subject of the file is the expression of pacifism in education and its purpose is to provide an opportunity for the exchange of views between those interested in this vital question.

Anyone who would like to join in this work is invited to send their name and address as soon as possible to the file secretary Cyril Wright, 6 Chickerell Road, Swindon, Wilts.

Whilst it is hoped that most will feel able to contribute something by way of ideas or comments this is by no means a necessary condition of receiving the file and the Committee is most anxious that no one should feel hindered from joining because written contributions are expected from him.—

JONE BURGESS, 9 West St., Hertford, Herts.

#### Christian Socialists

AURENS OTTER'S criticism of "Papers from the Lamb" is no doubt penetrating and valuable, but his apparent hostility to the newly-formed Christian Socialist Movement is very disappointing.

Too many Christians are paralysed in face of political and social questions, either by the traditional blindness of a large part of the Church to such matters, or by a sense of helplessness. The CSM, in uniting Christian socialists into one movement, able to make some impression upon the church and society, is at least setting out to provide an answer to this pressing problem, and will no doubt be what its members make it. I hope

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.

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Our editorial, written and sent to the press as the debate closed, assumed that Mr. Shinwell's motion was not pressed to a division. We learnt too late that the motion had not been selected by the Speaker for discussion. It was therefore impossible for anybody to vote on the motion and abstention was the only possible course for the Labour rebels.

We apologise for our suggestion that these rebels could and should have gone further. This was both incorrect and unjustified.

### THE DOLCI FACTOR

LAST Sunday a programme on Danilo Dolci—the "Italian Gandhi"—on TV wrenched the conscience with the sequences of tragic squalor and degradation and then got over what was, in fact, a magnificent example of pacifism in action.

Pacifism in terms of practical, non-violent service rooting out ignorance, exploitation and violence from society makes an immediate appeal to people. Maybe it provides the bridge for introducing some "new look" thinking on the more intricate international problems,

Peace News stands for this kind of pacifism—and from the quite exceptional sales of the paper at recent Dolci meetings in this country it is quite clear that many people recognise the connection,

TV sharpens the choices before mankind—and our readers may very usefully pinpoint worthwhile programmes for their friends. People undoubtedly are concerned about the inhumanity, stupidity and violence of contemporary life. Their response to Peace News is often encouraging. Make it your job to introduce the paper to them.—H, F, M,

#### Overheard in Parliament

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The bulk of the research contracts placed by my department with industry are for military projects; and it would not be in accord with established practice to disclose the expenditure involved.—Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Aviation, in a Written Answer, February 15. it was explained that the Government does help, but insufficiently, and without coordination or planning. The magnificent dam is built entirely at Government expense for the benefit of the village of Menfi, but no one explains to the people how to use water for irrigation, and five-sixths of the available supply flows straight into the sea.

"We have to begin," says Dolci, "where the authorities have left off." We saw how an agriculturist, working from one of his centres, is now showing the people of Mensi how they can grow better crops, giving themselves more employment and raising their standard of living.

It is in Palermo that the film shows up most vividly the cruel injustice of western Sicilian life. The new and grandiose Palace of Justice cost £1,000,000 and right next to it are the most appalling slums waiting to be pulled down and replaced by new homes at rents that people can afford. "There are problems here," says Dolci, "that are as hard as stones, though they are made of men."

North Africans and to a limited exten

The day this film was shown Dolci left Britain at the end of a ten-day lecture tour during which he had addressed at public meetings some 8,000 people. There is no doubt that there is now much interest in Britain in Dolci's work. It is important that this is an informed interest, and for his reason Stephen Peet's film is very valuable.

#### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 Sunday March 13
Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road,
Kings Cross, N.1.
Discourse: Mrs. LUCY NORMAN
"Danilo Dolci"

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# THE FRENCH ATTITUDE TO RACE

# AN INTERIM COMMENT

### By Vernon Waughray

The writer who has studied extensively in the field of race relations, is a graduate of the London School of Economics.

IN France it is unwise to discuss racial questions publicly. Experienced observers of the French scene feel that the French attitude to race has changed, for the worse, since 1945.

Nevertheless, colour prejudice per se is virtually non-existent in the country. Those who are racially prejudiced belong mainly to the right wing political groups.

The French attitude to race must be interpreted in terms of political sympathies if it is to be understood and evaluated. One exception must be made to this general statement: the "yellow races" are distrusted and feared by most French people save possibly the dedicated Communists.

At present there are about 500,000 coloured people resident in metropolitan France. Accurate information is difficult to obtain, mainly for political reasons (e.g., the Algerian war), but responsible people agree with this figure.

A majority are men in the prime of their life, though there are many coloured and half-caste children and not a few elderly men. It is certain that men outnumber women by at least 3 to 1.

The coloured population represents a mixed bag of nationalities There are Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians, Africans, West Indians, Indo-Chinese, Indian (who opted for French nationality in 1948), and people from French colonies in the Pacific, South America and the Sahara.

#### police raids

Most of the coloured population are French nationals (e.g., Algerians, French West Indians)), but a substantial minority are no longer French subjects (e.g., Tunisians and Moroccans and Indo-Chinese). Their position can be likened to that of the Southern Irish.

Paris and its environs absorb the vast majority of the students and a very large number of the industrial workers. Lyons also has a large coloured population. Marof French people who dislike Negroes, for example, for æsthetic reasons (or so they say), the vast majority who dislike Algerians, let us say, dislike them for political reasons.

Indians, for example, are received very warmly and India, its culture and civilisation, fascinates many. On the other hand, Egyptians and Indo-Chinese are not in the fashion. Dien Bien Phu and Suez still

their colour. Apart from a small number the "yellow masses" of China and, to a lesser extent, Japan. Fear, distrust and dislike of the "yellow masses" appears to be a national obsession.

> General de Gaulle, for example, in a recent letter to Mr. Khrushchev refers to the threat posed to the "white people" of Russia by the "yellow masses in the East." The note implied quite clearly that Russia has more in common with France and Europe than with China, because Russia is a white nation ( which is not true). This European fear of China has had Iong history, but the nineteenth century witnessed its crystallisation.

The French fear of the "yellow masses" contrasts vividly with British indifference.

So far as the yellow races are concerned the French are prejudiced, and much more so than the British. It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for the prejudice, though the influence of education must not be discounted.

Perhaps the shrewd and cynical French have perceived the danger to the white West from the fantastic Chinese population. The biennial increase in the Chinese population is estimated to be greater than the total French population. Also, the French tend to think of the East in terms of mystery, which does not improve matters psychologically.



#### anti-semitism

Last but not least, the French attitude to Jews. Like most people, the French think the Jews are a race. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-semitism in the country.

Class and political sympathies do not appear to be of importance; Jews are disliked by people from all walks of life. The fact that Mr. Mendès-France is a Jew is invariably pointed out by his critics, who are numerous

To sum up, my impression is that the French are more tolerant than the British, generally speaking, so far as colour is concerned. The racial dislikes of the French are motivated mainly by their political outlook and sympathies with the exception of the laws and the willow some On t

for French nationality in 1948), and people from French colonies in the Pacific, South America and the Sahara.

#### police raids

Most of the coloured population are French nationals (e.g., Algerians, French West Indians)), but a substantial minority are no longer French subjects (e.g., Tunisians and Moroccans and Indo-Chinese). Their position can be likened to that of the Southern Irish.

Paris and its environs absorb the vast majority of the students and a very large number of the industrial workers. Lyons also has a large coloured population. Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulon, and all the industrial cities of the north, north-west and north-east have sufficiently substantial coloured communities to keep the police occupied.

The coloured population of a town can be fairly accurately gauged by the number of police raids, as reported in the press. Police activities are mainly directed against North Africans\* and, to a limited extent, Indo-Chinese students.

Coloured people are to be found in rural districts all over the country, though their numbers are few. My impression is that there are more coloured agricultural workers in France than in Great Britain. This may be due to the greater employment possibilities in French agriculture than in British, for France is still an agricultural country.

#### housing conditions

So far as the coloured industrial workers are concerned they are employed in a wide range of occupations and industries. Perhaps a majority are unskilled labourers, as in Britain. The RATP (Paris Transport system) employs a large number of them, particularly women, as ticket collectors, and in the sheds.

North African pedlars are numerous, and the North African and Indo-Chinese restaurants employ many of their nationals. There are coloured policemen, clerks, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and some women are employed in the distributive trades (shops, department stores).

Judging by what I have seen in Paris and a few industrial towns the housing condition of the coloured population is worse than that of coloured people in Great Britain. In Paris there is an acute housing shortage, and the facilities offered, even in some hotels, tend to be rather primitive.



The French attitude to race is guided by politics—hence the dislike of North Africans and Algerian refugees such as these.

For example, to have running cold water in a furnished room in the run-down areas of Paris is exceptional. Hot water is a luxury, unless one boils it on a stove reminiscent of Descartes' time. Many such rooms don't have a window! Of course, in the better parts of the city, and in the good hotels, things are different, though a bathtub is a prized possession.

This has nothing to do with the coloured population as such; ordinary white Frenchmen suffer from the same inconveniences. French people inhabit cafés mainly because their accommodation is uncomfortable and badly heated.

In Paris, coloured people live in the south (Malakoff and Montrouge) and in the "red belt" in the north (Saint Ouen). There are pockets of them all over the city, not least in the east end (Bastille, Republique, Nation, Austerlitz, to name some of the areas).

Judging by the press reports it appears that the criminal activities of the coloured people are mainly of a political nature. Their non-political criminal activities do not appear to be greater than those of the white population.

Politics, as I have said, is the most important factor. The political element in race relations dominates all others. This is the essential difference between the French and British approach to the question.

Some "Anglo-Saxons," as the French like to call the British and the Americans, dislike coloured people solely on account of

For example, to have running cold water rankle in the French mind. Likewise, a furnished room in the run-down areas Tunisians and Moroccans are disliked because their countries support the Algerian xury, unless one boils it on a stove re-

Generally speaking, the French have three attitudes to race. Negroes, i.e., Africans and West Indians, are not disliked. They are felt to be rather child-like, harmless and happy.† Colour prejudice as understood in Great Britain and the United States is virtually non-existent so far as Negroes are concerned.

#### distrusted and disliked

The second group includes the North Africans and the Indo-Chinese. They are much distrusted and disliked by most French people. It is with these peoples that the French have had most contact, and it seems to me to disprove the dictum that it is much easier to dislike a person one has never had a "pint" with.

The third group includes all those coloured people with whose states French interests do not conflict. India is the best example. These people are neither specially liked nor specially disliked. The fact that they are coloured appears to be irrelevant.

This scheme does not take into account

†Happy, with the exception of the inhabitants of Guinea, who are suspected of being anti-French and Communist. They should be included in the second group.

the Jews are a race. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-semitism in the country.

Class and political sympathies do not appear to be of importance; Jews are disliked by people from all walks of life. The fact that Mr. Mendès-France is a Jew is invariably pointed out by his critics, who are numerous

To sum up, my impression is that the French are more tolerant than the British, generally speaking, so far as colour is concerned. The racial dislikes of the French are motivated mainly by their political outlook and sympathies with the exception of the Jews and the yellow races. On these two points I think that the British are less prejudiced. So it seems that certain sections of the British and French public are prejudiced against different races for different reasons.

FOOTNOTE: "Race" and "colour" are not necessarily co-terminous. In my opinion "racial prejudice" and "colour prejudice" must be treated separately, particularly in France.

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#### **MEETINGS**

INTERESTED IN QUAKERISM? Come and hear about it on Sunday, March 27, 3 p.m., at Friends House, Euston Road, London. Speakers. Discussion. Tea.

MRS, MARY STOCKS, BSc., on "Youth in an Affluent Society," March 15, 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1. Chairman: Reg Sorenson, MP.

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ndertaken. Box No. 847. WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged airmail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Av., Enfield, Middlesex.

# Consent or conflict apartheid can't win

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

RACK in London, I find Africa looming larger than ever in the political scene. The boycott of South African goods is in full swing. The Labour Party's "Africa Year" has begun with a series of nation-wide conferences. The demand for the release of Dr. Banda is becoming insistent. The Colonial Secretary is leaving for Central Africa, the crisis centre.

During this month of March the South African boycott has been greatly intensified, with the full support of the Labour Party. the Liberal Party and the Trades Union Congress. It is disappointing that the Cooperative Union has discouraged local societies from participation, but it is likely that many will do so. The membership of the largest, the London Co-op., is now to vote on the issue. I believe the Co-op. in my constituency Slough was the first to join the boycott. I have just heard that the Slough Education authority also has decided to exclude South African products from its school meals: an example which other towns might follow.

I am not among those who take a pessimistic or fatalistic view of the situation in South Africa, despite the present extension of apartheid. I base my hope on six grounds.

#### The break in the European Front of South Africa.

Whilst opposition was limited to the courageous Liberals and the Labour Party, its political significance was not great. But the new Progressive Party provides for the first time a promising group in the Legislature.

#### The pressure of world opinion.

The overwhelming vote in the United Nations cannot be ignored. Britain, shamefully, was in the minority of three, but Mr. Macmillan's speech at Cape Town showed that he had been influenced by opinion in Britain, the UN (including America), and Africa itself

#### 3. The sweeping advance of racial equality throughout Africa.

The Union cannot be unaffected when the whole Continent is moving to African emancipation.

The inauguration of multi-racial Legislatures in Basutoland and Bechuana-

published an article which indicates how unrealisable is the South African Government's plan to segregate the European and African populations into separate watertight areas with distinct administrations and civilisations-White South Africa and Bantusland

European industry and the European farms are dependent upon African labour. quote The Times figures:

"Africans make up 90 per cent of the total labour force in mining, 80 per cent in construction, more than half in manufacturing industry, and 48 per cent in transport.

"Nearly 500,000 Africans are employed by secondary industry, government and municipal undertakings, and the wage bill for Bantu workers in the seven main centres is £126 m, a year.

The number of Africans employed in the European towns advances all the time. There were fewer than 250,000 Africans in Johannesburg in 1936. Now there are 555,000. Dr. Verwoerd has said that by the turn of the century there will be 6,000,000 Africans alongside the white men in factory or farm.

#### LARGE AS NEW TOWNS

The theory used to be that the African families should remain in the reserves whilst men went to work temporarily in the towns. Now African women are joining the labour force. In 1952 there were 9,500 women employed in industry. This year there are 15,000.

The Government has been compelled to recognise this new social factor which involves families living in the urban areas. Vast new African townships of two-roomed towards economic and political emancipahouses have been built south-west of Johan-tion?

The Times (March 3, 1960) has recently vices. The white workers in their skilled jobs are paid 20 times as much.

> African wages are higher than can be obtained in most parts of Africa because of the rich returns which the uranium, gold and diamond mines bring to the European and American companies. African workers will come from as far north as Nvasaland to earn them; but it is significant that they return embittered against European domination because of the discrimination which treats them as second-class human beings.

> I do not know how the Europeans expect this situation to last. Do they seriously expect half a million African workers, rising by 140,000 a year, to be working permanently in European communities, excluded from the pale of European civilisation, limited to unskilled manual work? It is fantastic, and of course will not happen.

The African workers are not permitted trades unions with negotiating rights. This will not prevent them from asserting their claims to be treated as equal human beings. That remarkable protest in Johannesburg against higher transport fares to their work, when thousands walked 15 miles a day rather than travel by bus, until at last their wages were raised to meet the increased cost, showed the new self-reliance and solidarity which is in their ranks. Africans with that spirit cannot be kept down,

There is another new factor in the situation. Minerals have been found in Bechuanaland. Mines are to be opened. The mineral rights are in African hands. Africans there will be trained in skilled jobs. They are advancing to democratic citizenship rights.

Does the Union Government really believe that it can maintain what is virtually a slave labour class in Johannesburg when a few miles away Africans are moving

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#### LITERATURE

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OUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

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LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group

#### **THURSDAYS**

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11, Group PPU. The pressure of world opinion.

The overwhelming vote in the United Nations cannot be ignored. Britain, shamefully, was in the minority of three, but Mr. Macmillan's speech at Cape Town showed that he had been influenced by opinion in Britain, the UN (including America), and Africa itself.

time a promising group in the Legislature.

#### 3. The sweeping advance of racial equality throughout Africa.

The Union cannot be unaffected when the whole Continent is moving to African emancipation :

#### The inauguration of multi-racial Legislatures in Basutoland and Bechuana-

Equal citizenship rights for Africans and Europeans in these British Protectorates must influence events in the surrounding territory of the Union.

#### 5. The unreality of any division between whites and coloureds.

The early Dutch settlers encouraged intermarriage. There are 1.500,000 colouredspeople of mixed race. Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, has declared that the whites and coloureds will be separated. Thousands of the coloured are indistinguishable in appearance and life from the whites. How can they be segregated?

### theid when the European minority is dependent on African labour.

Africans alongside the white men in factory

#### LARGE AS NEW TOWNS

The theory used to be that the African families should remain in the reserves whilst men went to work temporarily in the towns. Now African women are joining the labour force. In 1952 there were 9,500 women employed in industry. This year there are 15,000.

The Government has been compelled to recognise this new social factor which involves families living in the urban areas. Vast new African townships of two-roomed houses have been built south-west of Johannesburg. The Times published a photograph of them. They are as large as any of our new towns in Britain.

How can these suburbs of Johannesburg be segregated politically from the industrial centre of which they are integrally a part? Are they to become a separate Bantu state? It would be as practical to establish an independent Republic for the east end of London.

The white aim is to restrict the Africans in the towns to the existence of a subservient labour class, doing the hard manual work for the Europeans, excluded from skilled work as well as from citizenship rights. Wages for labouring range from 6. The impossibility of maintaining apar- £8 12s. a month for domestic work to £14 in industry and commerce, £15 on the railways and up to £16 in the municipal ser-

wages were raised to meet the increased cost, showed the new self-reliance and solidarity which is in their ranks. Africans with that spirit cannot be kept down,

There is another new factor in the situation. Minerals have been found in Bechuanaland. Mines are to be opened. The mineral rights are in African hands. Africans there will be trained in skilled jobs. They are advancing to democratic citizenship rights.

Does the Union Government really believe that it can maintain what is virtually a slave labour class in Johannesburg when a few miles away Africans are moving towards economic and political emancipa-

In the industrial centres of the Union, on the white farms, apartheid must break down. It will be impossible to have Africans working alongside Europeans permanently without according to them their rights as human beings. Long before the turn of the century to which Dr. Verwoerd looks forward the African claim to equal citizenship and economic opportunities will have to be met.

The question is: Will the change take place with European consent or with conflict? The African leadership is striving to direct its campaign on the lines of nonviolent action. But upon the European leadership will rest the main responsibility for determining the answer to this question.

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Send notices to arrive first post Mon. 2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (half, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's

#### Friday, March 11

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall, Upper High St. Forum—" For and Against CND." Speakers: Freya Smith and Lorna Haynes. Epsom YCND.

MANCHESTER 14: 7.30 p.m. Unitarian College, ictoria Pk., Daisy Bank Rd. "India Today, etc." Victoria Pk., Daisy Bank Rd. Rev. Leslie Hayman.

#### Saturday, March 12

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m. St. Marks Vicarage, Clerendon Rise. "Portrait of a Remarkable Man"—life and work of Alfred Slater. FoR.

READING: Trade Union Hall, Minster St. Jumble Reading and District YCND.

#### Sunday, March 13

EWELL: 3 p.m. 94, Park Ave. East. Surrey Area. AGM. Tea. PPU.

LONLON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5, Cale-onian Rd. King's Cross. "Danilo Dolci." Mrs. donian Rd., King's Cross. Lucy Norman. Pacifist Universalist Service.

Monday, March 14 Rd. (Porchester Rd. end). 16. Westbourne Park

Now Group Meeting. All members welcome. FARNHAM: Regal Cinema, East St. Distribu-

tion of "On the Beach" Leaflet, Volunteers please write: R. North, Rossroe, Dockerfield, Farnham, Alton and District CND

#### Tuesday, March 15

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall. "Youth in an Affluent Society." Mary Stocks, BSc Chair: Reg. Sorenson, M.P. Adm. free. South Place Ethical Society.

LONDON, N.1: 7.30 p.m. Peace News Meeting Room, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. "A Churchman Looks at Two Germanys." A discussion led by Pastor Bethge. Labour Peace Fellowship.

#### Wednesday, March 16

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St. "Current Affairs" discussion. Allen Skinner. PPU.

Thursday, March 17 LONDON, W.C.1: 6.15 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. meeting. 29 Gt. James St. Direct Action: A Christian Viewpoint. Jack Mongar. London Youth FoR.

Friday. March 18 LONDON, S.W.2: 7.30 p.m. 41, Kildoran Rd. Group Meeting, National AGM Business. Clapham

MANCHESTER: 6 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Mount St. Start of Spring Fair. North West Region CND.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Sheep St. "International Help for Children." Barclay. Film: "These People Matter." Co for World Refugee Year Funds. FoR.

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. Pax Guest House, 17, Mel-ille Rd., Hove 2. "Danilo Dolci and his Work." ville Rd. Hove 2 Speaker: Bill Taylor. PPU

#### Saturday, March 19

BIRMINGHAM 31: The Beehive, Bishopsgate St. Jumble Sale. Please inform Les Mallows, Farren Rd. of any offers. 'Phone: Priory 4 'Phone: Priory 4918. West Midlands Area PPU.

Sunday, March 20

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 12 noon. Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways. S.E. Area Meeting. 2.30 p.m. "Speaking Peace in America." Hilda Klenze. Chair: Minnie Pallister. Open Meeting. PPU.

Monday, March 21 LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6, Endsleigh St. "Things We Would like to Abolish—The United Nations. eaker: O. Miller, "Sagittarius" Mercutio" (Guardian), the three-in-Speaker: (Statesman). one. 6 p.m. Refreshments. Central London PPU.

Thursday, March 31 LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. Public Meeting. Buffet and Bookstall from 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Victor Gollancz, Stuart Morris, Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Sybil Thorndike. Chairman: Sybil Morrison. Admission Free. Some reserved seats at 2s. 6d. from The Organiser, Peace Pledge Union, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. EUSton 5501.



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# Scott in

" AN emergency conference of independent African states and African political movements to be held in Accra at an early date is under consideration by a number of African leaders with whom Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is in consultation," said a statement issued by the Prime Minister's office in Ghana on Sunday, March 6.

The main objects of the conference, said the statement, would be

(a) to discuss further use of the soil of Africa as a testing ground for nuclear weapons;

(b) to alert the people of Africa against this new form of colonialism and its attempt to balkanise the continent and destroy African unity; and

(c) to plan concerted positive action for the peace and security of Africa.

"A further communiqué will be issued when all the necessary consultations have been completed," the statement concludes.

The Rev. Michael Scott left Accra on Monday to contact African leaders and heads of state in Liberia, Guinea and Morocco about the conference.

Anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear weapons groups throughout the world are being invited to send non-voting delegates to the conference. The Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Peace News and the

# WHAT SHALL WE

THE French refusal to have American nuclear bombers on her territory; the German attempt to get bases in Spain-Western defence has been the centre of the news recently. Both these incidents point to one simple fact—that western defence, particularly as it is embodied in Nato, is not highly organised and efficient but ramshackle and disorganised.

Despite this, respectable opinion in Britain persists in looking at Nato as unchallengeable. One of the biggest objections to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is that the implications of its case would lead to the abandoning of Nato.

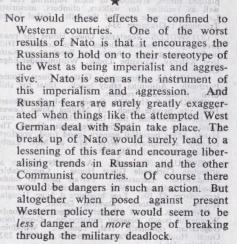
Campaigners must surely accept this as true. On the simplest moral level, it is imposimmoral in this country but moral in France, America, Germany. But there is much more to the problem of Nato than

### An Editorial

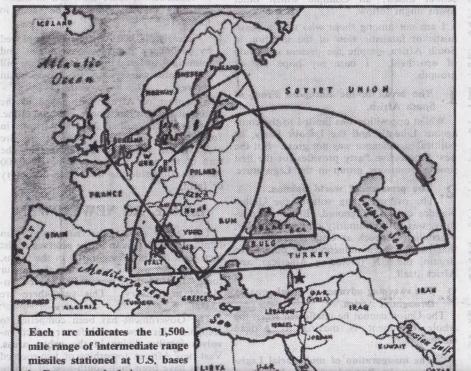
this. After all, nuclear disarmers do not only want to settle their own consciences with a moral gesture. Much more, they want to take an action that would lessen the possibility of war.

sible to argue that nuclear weapons are If the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain is to do this, the moral gesture must not only be simple but imaginative. What would be the effect of Britain re-

nouncing nuclear weapons but remaining in Nato on the peoples of other countries? Surely, that Britain while wanting the "benefits" of nuclear weapons did not want the cost of them. This would hardly be a contribution to anything. But if Britain were to leave Nato as well, questions not only about the value of nuclear weapons but also about the whole structure of western defence would be raised in other Western countries.



Nato has consequences far outside defence. The climate of fear that the existence of Nato encourages is the kind of climate that makes it easy for right wing governments to retain power. Don't do anything radical, it could be dangerous, becomes the motto. It is not surprising that the 1950s saw conservative governments hold power in almost the whole of the West. And when we add to this the fact that such an emphasis on military preparations must give great power to the generals and militarists, one may well fear future political developments. (De Gaulle coming to power in France was bad enough. But who will take over when he retires or dies-Massu?)



Because of all these reasons it is imperative that Britain leave Nato as soon as possible. One of the big tasks for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament must be to continually make the cose accim

attempt to balkanise the continent and destroy African unity; and

(c) to plan concerted positive action for the peace and security of Africa.

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Anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear weapons groups throughout the world are being invited to send non-voting delegates to the conference. The Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Peace News and the Movement for Colonial Freedom are among those in Britain who have been invited to send representatives to the conference, which is provisionally scheduled to take place between April 13 and 15 in Accra. April 15 is Africa Freedom Day.

Michael Randle, chairman of the British Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and a member of the Sahara protest team, has been co-opted on to the planning sub-committee for the conference and is working at the Bureau of African Affairs helping to organise the conference. Another member of the Sahara protest team and of the War Resisters' International, Bill Sutherland, is also on the sub-committee.

# Week for peace in the USA

A WEEK for peace is being planned at Easter (April 11-16) in the USA. It is being organised by a committee made up of representatives of the Student Peace Union, American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other peace organisations. Activities include:

• the distribution of 100,000 leaflets in Chicago and surrounding communities,

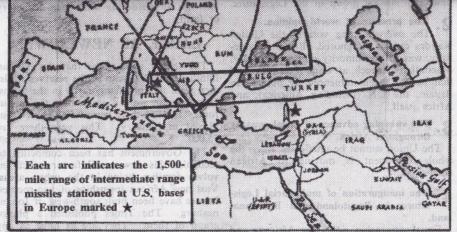
a peace rally at Chicago's Morrison Hotel which will draw 1,200 people,

a poster walk in The Loop (Chicago) involving 500 marchers,

and a two-day 40-mile march from the Great Lakes Naval Training Station to The Loop.

As hundreds march in cities throughout the USA, thousands will parade in Britain at Aldermaston and in other European countries.

The organisers hope for extensive publicity as this is the first project of this sort to take place in the locality.



that the 1950s saw conservative governments hold power in almost the whole of the West. And when we add to this the fact that such an emphasis on military preparations must give great power to the generals and militarists, one may well fear future political developments. (De Gaulle coming to power in France was bad enough. But who will take over when he retires or dies-Massu?)

Because of all these reasons it is imperative that Britain leave Nato as soon as possible. One of the big tasks for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament must be to continually make the case against Nato. This is the next logical step in the campaign against war.

# Hundreds join marches to British bases

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From a Correspondent.

SIX-WEEK preparatory leafleting and A bill-posting campaign preceded the demonstration last week-end at the Feltwell Rocket Base and Lakenheath US Bomber

The whole action, carried out in Newmarket, Ely, Bury St. Edmunds, Brandon, Thetford, Littleport, Mildenhall and other villages, was organised by the East Anglia Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

#### YOUTH PICKET

A picket organised by the Youth CND from 7 p.m. last Saturday to 5 p.m. Sunday outside the Feltwell and Lakenheath bases was relieved every six hours from Cambridge. Nineteen pickets stayed all night. The guards at the bases were friendly: two due to go off duty stayed on to talk.

On Saturday loud-speaker vans toured towns and villages and a particularly good meeting was held at Bury St. Edmunds, at which Dr. John Weston Wells, Canon Collins and Mrs. Walsh were supported by the Rector of Erriswell.

The Rev. W. H. Donnan, of Erriswell,

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said his was the best defended parish in meeting was held. Speakers included Ivor England and the most vulnerable target of all. He believed our trust should be in God, not in rockets.

The rector was recently called upon to resign as RAF chaplain at Mildenhall base.

Led by Mrs. Donnan on a horse some 400 marchers tramped from Feltwell to Lakenheath the following day.

#### 2. GREAT DALBY

STUDENTS from Leicester, Birmingham, Loughborough and Manchester marched on Saturday, February 27, from Leicester Town Hall to Great Dalby Rocket Base. The 15-mile march was organised by the Leicester University CND.

At the main gates to the base a public and Eric Green.

Glenton, a Leicester teacher: Des Oliver. local preacher; George Scott, lecturer at Loughborough College, and Ian Stewart, 21-year-old secretary of the Leicester University CND.

#### 3. CATFOSS

N Sunday, March 6, the Northern Youth Committee for CND organised a protest march from Catfoss Rocket Base to Beverley.

The 130 marchers and motorcade of 25 included contingents from Ackworth and Winnington Schools. At an open-air rally in Beverley speakers included Alec Horsley, local Quaker, Mr. H. Hanson, secretary of the Yorkshire Region CND, Carol Taylor

# SOUTH AFRICA after the Boycott month—?

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, Monday, March 28, at 7.30 p.m.

LORD ALTRINCHAM (for National Council for Civil Liberties): WILLIAM CONNOR ("Cassandra" of the Daily Mirror); TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CR; SIDNEY JACOBSON; NTSU MOKHEHLE (Leader of Basutoland Congress Party); Chairman: Canon L. JOHN COLLINS.

Tickets: Res. 2s. 6d., Unres. Is.; from: Christian Action, 2 Amen Ct., E.C.4 (CIT 6869): National Council for Civil Liberties, 293 New Kings Rd., S.W.6 (REN 2254); The Boycott Movement, 200 Gower St., N.W.1, or from Central Hall, S.W.1. Doors open 6.45. Buffet available.

### A CHRISTIAN ACTION MEETING

by vernou waugmay

The writer who has studied extensively in the field of race relations, is a graduate of the London School of Economics.

TN France it is unwise to discuss racial questions publicly. Experienced observers of the French scene feel that the French attitude to race has changed, for the worse, since 1945.

Nevertheless, colour prejudice per se is virtually non-existent in the country. Those who are racially prejudiced belong mainly to the right wing political groups.

The French attitude to race must be interpreted in terms of political sympathies if it is to be understood and evaluated. One exception must be made to this general statement: the "yellow races" are distrusted and feared by most French people save possibly the dedicated Communists.

At present there are about 500,000 coloured people resident in metropolitan France. Accurate information is difficult to obtain, mainly for political reasons (e.g., the Algerian war), but responsible people agree with this figure.

A majority are men in the prime of their life, though there are many coloured and half-caste children and not a few elderly men. It is certain that men outnumber women by at least 3 to 1.

The coloured population represents a mixed bag of nationalities There are Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians, Africans, West Indians, Indo-Chinese, Indian (who opted for French nationality in 1948), and people from French colonies in the Pacific, South America and the Sahara.

#### police raids

Most of the coloured population are French nationals (e.g., Algerians, French West Indians)), but a substantial minority are no longer French subjects (e.g., Tunisians and Moroccans and Indo-Chinese). Their position can be likened to that of the Southern Irish.

Paris and its environs absorb the vast majority of the students and a very large number of the industrial workers. Lyons also has a large coloured population. Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulon, and all the industrial cities of the north, north-west and north-east have sufficiently substantial coloured communities to keep the police occupied.

The coloured population of a town can be fairly accurately gauged by the number of police raids, as reported in the press. Police activities are mainly directed against North Africans\* and, to a limited extent, Indo-Chinese students,

Coloured people are to be found in rural districts all over the country, though their numbers are few. My impression is that

Indians, for example, are received very warmly and India, its culture and civilisation, fascinates many. On the other hand, Egyptians and Indo-Chinese are not in the fashion. Dien Bien Phu and Suez still



The French attitude to race is guided by politics—hence the dislike of North Africans and Algerian refugees such as these.

For example, to have running cold water rankle in the French mind. Likewise, of Paris is exceptional. Hot water is a luxury, unless one boils it on a stove reminiscent of Descartes' time. Many such rooms don't have a window! Of course, in

in a furnished room in the run-down areas Tunisians and Moroccans are disliked because their countries support the Algerian " rebels."

Generally speaking, the French have three

General de Gaulle, for example, in a recent letter to Mr. Khrushchev refers to the threat posed to the "white people" of Russia by the "yellow masses in the East." The note implied quite clearly that Russia has more in common with France and Europe than with China, because Russia is a white nation ( which is not true). This European fear of China has had a long history, but the nineteenth century witnessed its crystallisation.

The French fear of the "yellow masses" contrasts vividly with British indifference.

So far as the yellow races are concerned the French are prejudiced, and much more so than the British. It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for the prejudice, though the influence of education must not be discounted, attorooms to cidewoil

Perhaps the shrewd and cynical French have perceived the danger to the white West from the fantastic Chinese population. The biennial increase in the Chinese population is estimated to be greater than the total French population. Also, the French tend to think of the East in terms of mystery, which does not improve matters psychologically.

#### anti-semitism

Last but not least, the French attitude to Jews. Like most people, the French think the Jews are a race. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-semitism in the country. Imple see of daw I

Class and political sympathies do not appear to be of importance; Jews are disliked by people from all walks of life. The fact that Mr. Mendès-France is a Jew is invariably pointed out by his critics, who are numerous.

To sum up, my impression is that the French are more tolerant than the British, generally speaking, so far as colour is concerned. The racial dislikes of the French are motivated mainly by their political outlook and sympathies with the exception of the Jews and the yellow races. On these two points I think that the British are less prejudiced. So it seems that certain sections of the British and French public are prejudiced against different races for different reasons.

FOOTNOTE: "Race" and "colour" are not necessarily co-terminous. In my opinion racial prejudice" and "colour prejudice" must be treated separately, particularly in France.

#### Plan your holidays with

# new African

AN emergency conference of independent African states and African political movements to be held in Accra at an early date is under consideration by a number of African leaders with whom Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is in consultation," said a statement issued by the Prime Minister's office in Ghana on Sunday, March 6.

The main objects of the conference, said the statement, would be

(a) to discuss further use of the soil of Africa as a testing ground for nuclear weapons:

(b) to alert the people of Africa against this new form of colonialism and its attempt to balkanise the continent and destroy African unity; and

to plan concerted positive action for the peace and security of Africa.

"A further communiqué will be issued when all the necessary consultations have been completed," the statement concludes.

The Rev. Michael Scott left Accra on Monday to contact African leaders and heads of state in Liberia, Guinea and Morocco about the conference.

Anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear weapons groups throughout the world are being invited to send non-voting delegates to the conference. The Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Peace News and the Movement for Colonial Freedom are among those in Britain who have been invited to send representatives to the conference, which is provisionally scheduled to take place between April 13 and 15 in Accra. April 15 is Africa Freedom Day.

Michael Randle, chairman of the British Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and a member of the Sahara protest team, has been co-opted on to the planning sub-committee for the conference and is working at the Bureau of African Affairs helping to organise the conference. Another member of the Sahara protest team and of the War Resisters' International, Bill Sutherland, is also on the sub-committee.

# Week for peace in the USA

at Easter (April 11-16) in the USA.

Despite this, respectable opinion in Britain persists in looking at Nato as unchallengeable. One of the biggest objections to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is that the implications of its case would lead to the abandoning of Nato.

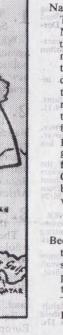
Campaigners must surely accept this as true. On the simplest moral level, it is imposimmoral in this country but moral in France, America, Germany. But there is much more to the problem of Nato than

### An Editorial

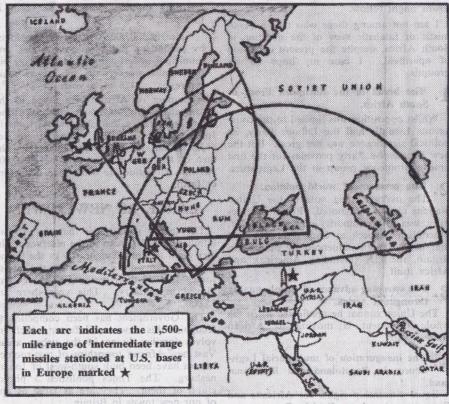
this. After all, nuclear disarmers do not only want to settle their own consciences with a moral gesture. Much more, they want to take an action that would lessen the possibility of war.

sible to argue that nuclear weapons are If the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain is to do this, the moral gesture must not only be simple but imaginative. What would be the effect of Britain reNor would these effects be confined to Western countries. One of the worst results of Nato is that it encourages the Russians to hold on to their stereotype of the West as being imperialist and aggressive. Nato is seen as the instrument of this imperialism and aggression. And Russian fears are surely greatly exaggerated when things like the attempted West German deal with Spain take place. The break up of Nato would surely lead to a lessening of this fear and encourage liberalising trends in Russian and the other Communist countries. Of course there would be dangers in such an action. But altogether when posed against present Western policy there would seem to be less danger and more hope of breaking through the military deadlock.

Nato has consequences far outside defence. The climate of fear that the existence of Nato encourages is the kind of climate that makes it easy for right wing governments to retain power. Don't do anything radical, it could be dangerous, becomes the motto. It is not surprising that the 1950s saw conservative governments hold power in almost the whole of the West. And when we add to this the fact that such an emphasis on military preparations must give great power to the generals and militarists, one may well fear future political developments. (De Gaulle coming to power in France was bad enough. But who will take over when he retires or dies-Massu?)



Because of all these reasons it is imperative that Britain leave Nato as soon as possible. One of the big tasks for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament must be to continually make the case against Nato. This is the next logical step in the campaign against war.



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